

THE
POLITICAL DRAMATIST
OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS,
IN
1795.

A SATIRE.

The Second Edition.

5

1845

PR

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THE
POLITICAL DRAMATIST

OF THE *K^g Biddle L^g A.*
HOUSE OF COMMONS,

IN
1795.

A SATIRE

The Second Edition,
WITH SOME ALTERATIONS,
AND A
POSTSCRIPT IN PROSE,
CONTAINING REMARKS ON THE
DECLARATION OF THE WHIG CLUB,
On the 23d of JANUARY, 1796.

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M,DCC,XCVI.

THE
POLITICAL DRAMATIST
OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS

1893

A
SERIES
OF
THE
SPEECHES
OF
THE
MEMBERS
OF
THE
HOUSE
OF
COMMONS

THE
HOUSE
OF
COMMONS
OF
THE
UNITED
KINGDOM

PRINTED BY

WILLIAM

CLAYTON AND SONS

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THE
POLITICAL DRAMATIST

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IN

1795.

A SATIRE.

THE House was up ; the long debate was o'er ;
And Addington presided now no more ;
Nor voice, nor vote along the benches crept,
And Corn-committees bak'd their bread, and
 slept ;

Somnus and Ceres no sage members scorn, 5
But own the poppy grows among the corn.
His friends from idle terrors to release,
Pitt cast faint gleams of visionary peace ;

B

Pleas'd with the distant ray some grew content,
 And Wilberforce, retracting, bow'd assent. 10
 Fox pour'd his manly eloquence in sighs
 O'er emigration's dreadful sacrifice,
 And pious drops o'er gallant Sombreuil shed ;
 (Burke was not there : and Wyndham shook his
 head.)

Before him rose to sullen dreary view 15
 Misguided plans in treachery's darkest hue,*
 The Quiberonian Bay, and sacred Isle,†
 Misnam'd of God, where heav'n will never smile.
 While Moira, (whose *commanding* course is run,
 His toils unpaid, and all his journies‡done,) 20

* Alluding to the faithless conduct of the French themselves, under Puissaye and others.

† The Expeditions to Quiberon Bay, and to L' Isle de Dieu.

‡ From Southampton to Downing Street, and from Downing Street to Southampton, almost every other day, during his command of the army encamped in the New Forest. See all the Public Papers in 1795.

Surveys his trophies with Rinaldo's air,
 Breaks through th' enchanted forest in despair,
 Low-murm'ring quits Southampton's armed
 street,
 And lays his fame at pious Godfrey's feet.

In Persian wealth elate, and blooming pride, 25
 For mobs and crowds unthinking Bedford sigh'd;
 Nor saw where, hov'ring o'er th' accursed
 tomb,
 Glar'd the red crest of Orleans through the
 gloom.

The fullen moody violence of Grey,
 Soften'd by love, in raptures died away : 30
 While Erskine, o'er his Hampstead bending
 down,

Like *Him* of Lincoln, look'd o'er half the town,
 Pond'ring with lawyer's leer, and selfish end,
 What new-hatch'd treason he must next defend.

Grant * was compos'd, nor fought the applause
of youth, 35

In reason's strength, in soberness of truth ;
Such as from Fox unwilling praise could draw,
For warmth of eloquence, and soundest law.

But CHIEF with teeming brain and fancy fir'd,
Home, unobserv'd, THE DRAMATIST retir'd: 40
Such be the term I feign ; his name I hate,
Who without virtue is, or would be, great.
The shackles of a wayward bride he wore ;
For since divine Cecilia was no more,
He deem'd, inclin'd to trifle and to toy, 45
Husbands have pains, but bachelors no joy.
Sunk in his chair, within his troubled soul
Strange thoughts in mix'd tumultuous move-
ments roll ;

* William Grant, Esq. Member for Windsor, King's Counsel, &c. &c. It is much to be wished, that this very able and learned Gentleman would deliver his sentiments in Parliament more frequently.

Of Drury first, (which Holland's art could rear,
Fram'd for all uses, but to see or hear,) 50

And fums receiv'd, but to no reck'ning brought ;

And shares theatric, bought or to be bought ;

Of works and memoirs from the Gallic shore,

By unfex'd females, and the dubious *Moore* ;

And of the War's neat sketch, * that *Auckland*
drew, 55

Sprinkled with gracious diplomatic dew ;

And *D'Ivernois's* † strong page, with pointed
force

That marks the bound of Gallia's brief resource ;

* See " Some Remarks on the Apparent Circumstances of the War, in the Fourth Week of October, 1795." The production of a person accustomed to think, to speak, and to write, and all with great ability.

† " A Curfory View of the Assignats and Remaining Resources of French Finance, (September 6, 1795.) Drawn from the Debates of the Convention, by F. D'Ivernois, Esq. A work of some importance, and which should be read with attention, but with much allowance for the warmth of the Writer

In vain : her arm of terror, as before,
 Draws iron loans, nor fears to plunder more. 60

Such thoughts awhile THE DRAMATIST
 pursued,

Of public pleasure and of public good :
 Of scandal much he mus'd, of treason more,
 And schools for each, and scholars at his door ;
 Nor portico, nor learned grove he sought ; 65
 In squares he preach'd, in theatres he taught.
 With random wit he any thing could hint,
 In verse, in dialogue, in speech, in print,
 In handbills, resolutions, toasts, and clubs,
 With statesmen, players, pimps, or dukes, or
 grubs. 70

Chief on the stage unrivall'd ; in that cause
 None, but the thinking, e'er withheld applause ;
 Nor half, nor whole Menander, * as some deem,
 Vice is the prompter of his subtle scheme.

* Tu quoque, tu in summis, O dimidiate Menander,
 Poneris.—Julius Cæsar of Terence.

At will he gathers all his various fame, 75
 By Bacchus arm'd against the tint of shame :
 Rich his conception, ready is his phrase,
 And his the speaker's, his the poet's praise ;
 Round him the Muses strew their fragrant flow'rs
 From Heliconian springs, and never fading
 bow'rs. 80

From these THE DRAMATIST now turns
 with scorn,
 For other conquests, other empire born.
 Before him, in confusion's order, lie
 Codes and Digests of direst anarchy,
 With all the embryo forms of varied strife, 85
 Rough-sketch'd by Gallic pencils from the life,
 How mobs, in act a senate's power to wrest,
 Headless or headed, serve a patriot best.
 The charts of aberration next are seen,
 What stars are fix'd, what meteors light the
 scene

With momentaneous glare ; what spells so proud
 With fond illusion cheat a spongy crowd.
 But last, his hands with eager haste unroll
 Pictur'd devices quaint on many a scroll ;
 Insult with folly, fear with pert grimace, '95
 Mock consuls, regal robes, and taudry lace,
 The trappings of that nameless monstrous * fry,
 That loath'd abortion of democracy,
 Got by the demon of the dark divan
 'Twixt carnage, lust, and rapine, as it ran. 100

The lights wax'd faint ; and glimmering
 through the gloom,
 Spectres arose, and groan'd their earthly doom ;
 Who while they breath'd in slaughterous pur-
 pose bold,
 Leagued in damnation, could no concord hold ;

* The Executive Directory of France, Council of Ancients,
 Council of Five Hundred and all their trumpery, and their ap-
 proaching tyranny.

Their jargon new, their crimes were under-
stood, 105

All foul, all guilty of their country's blood ;
Fresh from the depths of that unholy ground,
Where life and common sin one tomb have found.
Before the DRAMATIST they held a glass :

“ Such things are but occasional and pass ; 110

“ Unaw'd he spake ; “ they stamp a glorious
cause :”

(The Fiends, so Hell had order'd, glar'd ap-
plause.)

“ But say, he cries, what terrors yet reside

“ In Anarchy's pavilion dark and wide ?

“ Broad is the curtain ; nor yet half unroll'd ; 115

“ 'Twill other lands and chosen isles enfold :

“ Perhaps,”---(the griesly shadows flitted fast,

And o'er the Hall of Themis seem'd to cast

Vapour adust from their sulphureous home :)

“ Stephen with Satan may divide his dome 120

“ Goes it not so ? the fire may beautify :
“ Another phoenix may with Gallia’s vie :
“ A new Pantheon Paul may yet disclose,
“ And with new faints my Lauderdale repose.”
The Fiends fled grimly pleas’d ; a dizzying
pain 125

Entranc’d THE DRAMATIST’s disorder’d brain,
Till all his earthly powers confounded lie,
O’erstrain’d in that infernal colloquy ;
But short his rest ; THE DRAMATIST awoke,
And silence in deliberate accents broke : 130

“ Since all that genius, all that wit can give,
“ Or fovereign Nature’s high prerogative ;
“ All that approving taste may best ensure,
“ Fancy’s gay blossom, or the fruit mature ;
“ The stores of memory, and the treasur’d
wealth 135
“ Of classic moments in laborious stealth ;

“ Or readiest elocution’s easy flow,
“ Thoughts that enchain attention, words that
 glow,
“ And paint the changeful manners of the age,
“ To lift’ning senates, or th’enraptur’d stage; 140
“ Cast round my name but ineffectual rays,
“ Or blest with dry sterility of praise;
“ Too late, alas ! I feel, a statesman’s part
“ Must bear the impress of an honest heart.
“ Scorn’d, though admir’d, mid flaming tem-
 pests cast, 145
“ No laurel saves me from the public blast,
“ But struck and circumscrib’d in all my rage,
“ I stand the sad Bidental * of my age.

“ Better be with the mob ; their fancies cheat ;
“ By human Hackneys dragg’d from street to
 street ; 150

* The word BIDENTAL, in Roman writers, signifies a place or person struck with lightning. It was usual to inclose the place, and erect an altar on the spot, *that all persons might avoid it.*

“ Better go mount the tribunitian chair,
“ Hurl wildest doctrines through the wildest air,
“ With sophistry that fits the phrenzied crew,
“ Lank, haggard, lean, in black rebellion's hue,
“ Till cymbals * seem through fancy's ear to
ring

“ In dismal tones around a suffering king.

“ Oh, for a virtuous heart, or seeming worth !
“ What planet look'd thus sparsely on my birth,
“ Cold, though benign ; and on my baby brow
“ Shed damps of death I never felt till now. 160
“ Substance within, nor semblance will they find
“ Of virtuous purpose, or the upright mind :
“ In all I urge, the House alone will hear
“ The high-wrought diction, or the wit severe;

† In the ancient sacrifices offered to the bloody idol of Moloch, it was customary to clash the cymbals and other instruments, to overpower the cries and groans of the agonizing victims.

“ Stage-admiration!---All obtain some grace, 165

“ All from their purpose find excuse or praise.

“ Shall Mornington, for three full hours, de-
scant

“ On scraps and shreds in commentating rant ?

“ There is a clock ; I wish my Lord could see

“ How ill long speeches and short fight
agree : 170

“ Curse on his words ; conviction still attends,

“ And proves bad means proportion'd to bad ends.

“ Shall Reeves with Druid * faith and potent
rod,

“ Involve *alone* the spirit of the God

“ In Britain's central tree, all branches
broke ; 175

“ Then seek for shade beneath the leaf-lorn oak ?

* The Druids believed, that the spirit of their Deity resided *in the trunk or stem* of the sacred oak, which grew in the midst of the forest of Mona. The allusion here is to the celebrated simile of the Constitutional tree, and its branches, in the Pamphlet published in October 1795, entitled, “ Thoughts on the English Government,” which the House of Commons have declared to be a libel on the Constitution, &c.

- “ Shall mitred Horfley teach, in eastern way,
“ Subjects are made for nought but to obey ?
“ Shall Wyndham, boldest in the Sovereign’s
 cause,
“ Call for a vigour stronger than the laws ? 180
“ Yet all in virtuous meaning seek defence :
“ I never deviate into honest sense.

- “ Ah me ! unwilling now my lips I close,
“ And leave myself and England to repose.
“ Lo ! PITT prepares the adamantine chain 185
“ To curb fell Anarchy, * and all her train ;

* *Read* the Bill against Treason, and the Bill for effectually preventing Seditions Meetings and Assemblies ; and consequently for preventing (and I trust effectually) the overthrow of the lawful and established government of these kingdoms, and of that high and paramount authority, vested in the King, the Lords and the Commons, in Parliament assembled.

“ Fir’d with the brand of some Arch-Calvin’s
rage,

“ Or hail’d by Reason, children of *her* age ;

“ Not whiten’d with the sanctimonious foam,

“ Blood must distain the portal of their
dome ;

190

“ The lamb they fain would strike for Gallic guests

“ In other passovers, and other feasts :

“ Gaunt with discomfiture they now advance,

“ And wield addreses, and would wield the lance.

“ The good alone are free ! PITT’s virtue
springs

195

“ To shield the peasant, and the throne of kings.

“ Why must I crouch before the illustrious
Youth ?

“ Why hail the guardian of the law and truth ?

“ If THUS he lift Britannia’s regal state,

“ His fame shall be as permanent, as great ! 200

“ His be the guidance of the public light ;
“ Hyperion's steeds, in marshall'd order bright,
“ His steadier hand shall rein ; through heav'ns
high way

“ Advancing roll along the orb of day,
“ Through various signs, with temperate bold-
ness tried, 205

“ Pause in the Balance, through the Scorpion
glide ;

“ The wand'ring fires observe ; WITH FREE-
DOM trace

“ The limits of that consecrated space,

“ And just to empire's delegating source,

“ Absolve the destin'd round of his ethereal
course.” 210

Here ceas'd THE DRAMATIST ; and strug-
gling sighs

Burst from his soul, and fears began to rise :

For now, triumphant in the eastern world,
 Old England's standard Elphinstone unfurl'd ;
 High trophies of confirm'd dominion wait 215
 In orient splendor on Britannia's state ;
 And while all toil she scorns, all danger braves,
 O'er HOPE's fam'd CAPE her bloodless ensign
 waves*.

* In November 1795, arrived the intelligence of THE SURRENDER of the CAPE OF GOOD HOPE to the arms of Great Britain, under Admiral Sir G. K. Elphinstone, K. B. and the Generals Craig and Clark, without the effusion of blood. See the Gazette, published on the occasion by the Ministry, who, it is firmly expected, will, in the name of Great Britain, greet this invaluable and most important fortress with an *Esto Perpetua* !

FINIS.

REMARKS ON
THE DECLARATION
OF THE
WHIG CLUB,

On the 23d of JANUARY, 1796.

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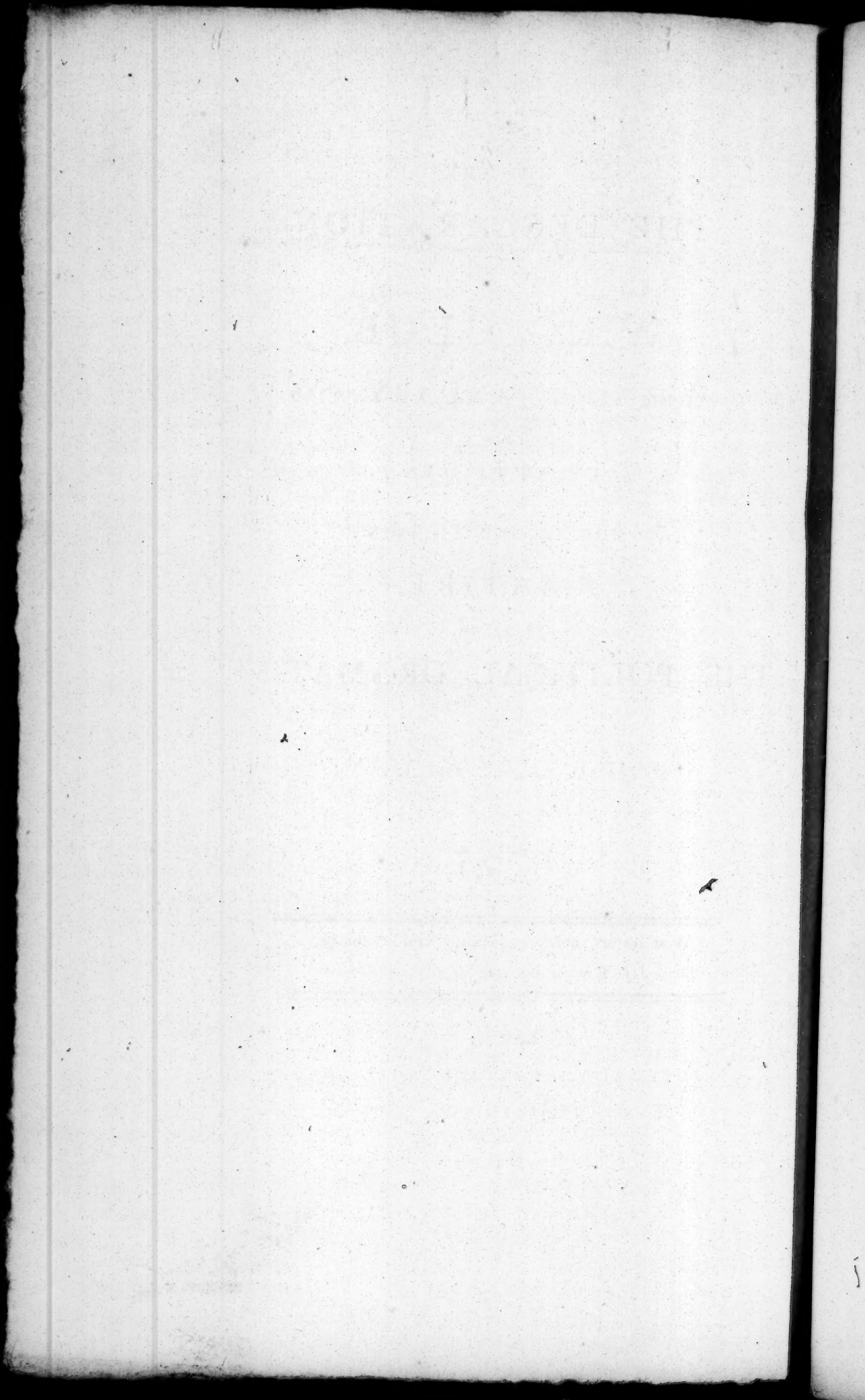
REMARKS ON
THE DECLARATION
OF THE
WHIG CLUB,
On the 23d of JANUARY, 1796,
IN A
POSTSCRIPT
TO THE SECOND EDITION OF
A SATIRE,
ENTITLED,
THE POLITICAL DRAMATIST
OF THE
HOUSE OF COMMONS,
IN
1795.

With terrors round, can Reason hold her throne,
Survey the Known, nor tremble at the Unknown?

London:

PRINTED FOR J. PARSONS, NO. 21, PATER-
NOSTER-ROW.

MDCCXCVI.



REMARKS ON
THE DECLARATION
OF THE
WHIG CLUB.

AS the preceding Poem is professedly political, there is no impropriety in observing, that since the first edition of it, the public have read in the papers, "THE DECLARATION OF THE WHIG CLUB, *signed*, CHARLES JAMES FOX," as agreed to at a general meeting, held at the

B

Shake-

Shakespeare Tavern, Covent Garden, on the 23d of January, 1796. In this Postscript, I shall blend no remarks on other works, or other writings, as I wish this Declaration should be considered singly and apart. I shall pass, with equal notice, the writings of the common scribblers of the day, and of the immortal Author of the Treatises on the French Revolution. I shall not comment on the names of William Miles and Gilbert Wakefield, or of the
 RIGHT HONOURABLE EDMUND BURKE.

But on public papers of such importance, a public opinion may be given; and in the judgment of thinking men, I conceive, that a more alarming or a more decisive explication of political principles, nefarious, abandoned, and destructive, could not have been presented by the art of the sophist, or the strength of the orator. It is melancholy to observe men of high character

rafter, wealth, and dignity, in conformity with the example of the *first* leaders of the *first* Revolution of France, proposing and recommending A CATENATION OF CLUBS throughout the kingdom, all linked and combined with one great central affociation in the metropolis, to overawe and intimidate the government. It is more than melancholy, it is a warning to this country, to hear SUCH men, calmly and upon reflection, recommending (for I use their own words) “ *The Exercise* OF THAT JUST AUTHORITY, “ *which* THE NATIONAL OPINION *must ever possess* OVER THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE LEGISLATURE,” without a blush for the doctrine, and without a fear for the event.

What is it, but to declare THE WHIG CLUB, the common receptacle of all the political abominations of which the French have drunk largely and fatally, and presented the cup to every nation

tion of Europe? What is it, but to style the Whig Club the great JACOBIN DEN of England, under the auspices of men, *candidates for the government and direction* of this great, opulent, and established empire; and *professing to act* upon a principle, on which no government can stand, no subordination can be long maintained? For, in my judgment, the essence of *the Jacobin Doctrine* consists in this; namely, to call *the People* of any country *the Sovereign power*, in opposition to the lawful, permanent, and *established authority*, vested in the governors of it; to call the sense of *Clubs associated*, the sense of *that people*; and when those Clubs have thought proper to deliver and publish *their doctrines* and resolutions, to declare that the sovereign people have *in effect* SPOKEN THEIR WILL; and that, in consequence of it, the measures of a government are to be changed, ministers deposed, a king dethroned, or a constitution regenerated; and all
this

this is spoken with as much coolness, and as little concern, as if the affairs of a vestry were to pass from one set of wardens to another. And *further*, as these momentous concerns are carried on chiefly *in the metropolis* of any kingdom, it is virtually to declare, that, *the sense of the disaffected part of the people of that metropolis, is, THE CONTROLLING POWER OF THE STATE*, as the government and its ministers can neither be overawed, nor seized upon in any other place; and particularly, as all the other disaffected Clubs in the country establish their doctrines, and found their resolutions, on the grand metropolitan heresy.

But I will not pursue the sophistry of *THE DECLARATION*; it is too trifling to mislead the sense of any man who will exercise a sound judgment. I will not magnify *THE WHIG CLUB*;

CLUB ; for, in my opinion, it is contemptible when compared with the great and dignified majority, who maintain and uphold the government of these kingdoms, whatever minister may direct its measures. Though the French misunderstand that Club, and suppose a power, an energy, and even an authority in it, which it never did, and never can possess ; yet, I think, *the nature and tendency of it in principle* should be fully understood in this country, as they pretend to be, and as they are.

IN THIS DECLARATION, which, we are given to understand, was drawn up * by R. B. Sheridan, Esq. M. P. the Hon. Thomas Erskine, M. P. Philip Francis, Esq. M. P. and one James Mackintosh, and unanimously agreed

* See the Copy of the Declaration, Printed for R. White, Piccadilly.

to, at the general Meeting on the 23d of January, 1796, and adopted as their own; the Whig Club stand engaged to use every legal and constitutional effort, to obtain a repeal of the two famous acts lately passed; the one, "Against Seditious Meetings and Assemblies;" the other, "An Act for the safety and preservation of His Majesty's Person and Government against treasonable and seditious practices and attempts." Let all their engagements stand, and all their efforts be exerted, and all their sophistries disseminated. I will answer with the prophet of old, "May *their* dream be *to them* that hate *our* country, and *their* interpretation of it to *our* enemies." I will be bold to answer these men in their own words, that the free and loyal people of these kingdoms, when they consider these acts in the depth of their hearts, and in the solidity of their judgments, will

never

never “ forget the measures of which they are
 “ a part ;—the disposition from which they ap-
 “ pear to flow ;—the reasons by which they are sup-
 “ ported ;—and the consequences to which they
 “ are intended to lead.” For my own part, I
 know not the words *seem*, and *appear* ; I
 would assert the substance ; nor need I the assis-
 tance of their *new Classical Lent Orator*, with all
 the farce of Roman lecture and tribunitian mock-
 ery. I want no whining over Felons,* convicted
 of treason or sedition, and conveyed to remote or
 inhospitable climes, and no longer suffered, by
 the justice of their country, to trouble and dis-
 organize the state. I can wait with patience
 for the new editions of their *De Tristibus* and
De Ponto, by the future Skirvings, Palmers, and

* Read the fine feeling passage (*ad populum*) on Transportation. I am at a loss to which of the four illustrious pen-men I am to attribute this *sympathising* strain. Mr. Erskine and Mr. Francis have formerly been travellers into foreign parts.

Geralds,

Geralds, from the shores of Botany Bay, and the solitudes of New Holland.

I hear the Whig Club talk of *Love*, as the basis of government, when outrage and violence are abroad in our streets. I hear them talk of favour and clemency : and who are their auditors ? The profelytes of democracy in the heart of London. These are the foundations of their citadel ; this is the basis of their temple, while the dome and the columns are shaking. Love, favour, and clemency, it seems, supersede the necessity of legal coercion in their new code. Digest and arrange it who can ; they will wait in vain for the *Responsa Prudentum*. Mr. Chancellor Erskine may talk, and write, and institute ; Thelwall and Wakefield alone will comment. I am ashamed of such solemn trifling, and of such cruel absurdity in the face of the nation.

By

By THIS DECLARATION OF THE WHIG CLUB,
signed, CHARLES JAMES FOX, we now fully
 understand the institution; we are in possession
 of the principles of this New Whig Monster,
 of principles, the greatest part of which, these
candidates for the government of Great Britain,
 already know and feel they must abandon, if ever
 they succeed to the lawful and constitutional di-
 rection of public affairs. The great stone of
 THE DEN is rolled away; but my own words
 are inadequate to the ideas under which I labour;
 I have done my duty, and retire.

Cælo ostenduntur, PEDIBUSQUE INFORME CADAVER
PROTRAHITUR !

Men, and Brethren, who have read the De-
 claration of the Whig Club, and these Remarks
 upon it, warm from the heart of an English
 sub-

subject ; Men and Brethren, I say, if it be right,
in the fight of Heaven and of this country, to
hearken unto THEM more than unto our *legal and*
constitutional governors, JUDGE YE.

Finis.

(12)

subject; Men and Children, I say, it is right
in the light of Heaven and of this country, to
hasten unto them more than unto our own.

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